

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 16290 151855Z

21

ACTION EUR-12

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PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

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USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA UNN

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

USMISSION USUN

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 16290

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UN, UR, US

SUBJ: SOVIET ASSESSMENT OF GROMYKO PROPOSALS: CTB, CW, INDIAN
OCEAN

REF: MOSCOW 15482

1. SUMMARY. AT OCTOBER 13 RECEPTION, CHIEF OF DISARMA-
MENT SECTION OF MFA'S INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVI-
SION, BORIS KRASULIN, SINGLED OUT CTB, CW, AND INDIAN
OCEAN AS THE MOST IMPORTANT ITEMS IN GROMYKO'S UNGA
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 16290 151855Z

PROPOSALS AND PLACE GREAT IMPORTANCE ON THE WILLINGNESS

OF THE USSR TO ACCEPT ON-SITE INSPECTION FOR CTB AND CW. ON INDIAN OCEAN HE UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTIONS OF FOREIGN BASES AND MILITARY TRANSIT IN THE SOVIET POSITION. USA DIVISION MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS COUNSELOR BACKED HIM UP ON VERIFICATION AND INDIAN OCEAN IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION. END SUMMARY.

2. KRASULIN, IN AN EXPANSIVE MOOD, GAVE A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF GROMYKO'S UNGA SPEECH AND RELATED DOCUMENTS. HE FOCUSED HIS ATTENTION ON THE MEMORANDUM TO UNSYG, CALLING IT A MOST IMPORTANT DOCUMENT FOR SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND ONE TO WHICH THEY EXPECTED TO REFER CONSTANTLY IN THE FUTURE. HE STRESSED THAT MUCH CAREFUL PREPARATION WENT INTO ITS FORMULATION AND THROUGHOUT THE CONVERSATION SHOWED EVIDENT PRIDE IN THE ROLE THAT HE AND OTHERS IN MFA HAD PLAYED IN PRODUCING IT. HE INDICATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT THERE WERE DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING THE DOCUMENT THROUGH THE BUREAUCRACY AND THAT THE NEW ELEMENTS IN IT FACED SUBSTANTIAL OPPOSITION. THE THRUST OF HIS REMARKS WAS THAT OTHER COUNTRIES SHOULD BE PLEASED THAT THE PROPOSALS HAVE SEEN THE LIGHT OF DAY. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION AT SAME FUNCTION MFA USA DIVISION COUNSELOR (FOR MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS) SOKOLOV MADE SAME POINT TO ACTING POL COUNSELOR RE POSITIONS ON VERIFICATION AND INDIAN OCEAN, ADDING THAT RESISTANCE TO THE INDIAN OCEAN PROPOSAL WAS PARTICULARLY STRONG.

3. EMBOFF SUGGESTED TO KRASULIN THAT "PLATTER" GROMYKO PLACED BEFORE UN WAS SO EXTENSIVE THAT THERE MUST BE SOME PRIORITIES PLACED ON THE TOPICS BY SOVIETS. KRASULIN RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY SAYING THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT PARTS OF THE MEMORANDUM WERE SECTIONS ON CTB, CW AND INDIAN OCEAN.

4. ON CTB, WHICH HE PLACED AT TOP OF LIST, HE SAID THAT ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE OF ON-SITE INSPECTION WAS MAJOR STEP BY USSR. HE REFERRED TO THIS AS AN EX-CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 16290 151855Z

TENSION OF INSPECTION AGREED TO FOR PNE AGREEMENT (WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS "REVOLUTIONARY STEP FOR US"). HOWEVER, IN EXPLAINING CONCEPT FURTHER HE SAID THAT SOVIETS WERE SUGGESTING SOMETHING LIKE "SWEDISH FORMULA" IN WHICH THE "COUNTRY SUSPECTED" OF VIOLATION OF AGREEMENT WOULD INVITE "SUSPECTING COUNTRIES" TO CONDUCT ON-SITE INSPECTION TO ASSURE THEMSELVES. WHEN ASKED IF SUCH A VOLUNTARY APPROACH

COULD REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO WORK, KRASULIN RE-
PLIED THAT IT COULD WORK AND THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL
COULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE
ISSUE. THIS QUESTION, HOWEVER, AS WELL AS THE
SPECIFIC MODALITIES COULD, HE SAID, BE DISCUSSED IN
NEGOTIATIONS.

5. ON CW KRASULIN ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE
OF GROMYKO'S REMARKS CONCERNING "CONTROL" WHICH HE
SAID REPRESENTED A SUBSTANTIAL STEP FORWARD. HERE
TOO THE SOVIETS WERE WILLING TO ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE
ON-SITE INSPECTION WITH RESPECT TO DESTRUCTION OF
CHEMICAL WEAPON STOCKS. HE SAID THAT US CONCERN OVER
VERIFICATION HAD PROMPTED SOVIETS TO TAKE THIS "EXTRA
STEP" AND THAT NOW "THE BALL IS IN YOUR COURT." HE
COMMENTED VERY FAVORABLY ON THE UTILITY OF THE RECENT
EXPERTS' CONSULTATION IN GENEVA AND LOOKED FORWARD
TO A NEW ROUND OF SUCH TALKS SOON.

6. ON THE INDIAN OCEAN KRASULIN NOTED THAT HTIS WAS
THE FIRST TIME THE SOVIET UNION HAD SHOWN A
WILLINGNESS TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN
OCEAN PROVIDED "MINOR CONDITION" ARE MET. EMBOFF
NOTED THAT QUESTION OF FOREIGN BASES WAS GIVEN GREAT
IMPORTANCE BY GROMYKO. ITALIAN POLCOUNS (WHO JOINED
CONVERSATION AT THIS POINT) ASKED IF KRASULIN MIGHT
CLARIFY THE RELATIONSHIP OF THIS ISSUE TO THE OVERALL
QUESTION OF A CONFERENCE; WAS THE SOLUTION OF THE
ISSUE OF BASES A PRECONDITION FOR THE CONFERENCE?
KRASULIN SAID HE WOULD NOT USE THE WORD "PRECONDITION"
BUT, HE CONTINUED, IT WAS EVIDENTLY AN ISSUE OF
PRIMARY IMPORTANCE. ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY
SIGNIFICANCE TO THE USE OF THE WORD "ACTIVITY" IN
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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 16290 151855Z

DESCRIBING WHAT WOULD BE MUTUALLY REDUCED (AS
OPPOSED TO "PRESENCE"), KRASULIN SAID HE DID NOT THINK
SO, AND WENT ON TO SAY THAT SOVIET PRESENCE IN THE
INDIAN OCEAN WAS NECESSARY FOR TRANSIT FROM
THE SOVIET FAR EAST TO EUROPE. ANY ATTEMPT
TO REDUCE MILITARY ACTIVITY WOULD HAVE, HE SAID,
TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF "SOVIET NEEDS" FOR FREE TRANSIT.
HE RECOGNIZED THE "NEED" THAT "OTHERS" MIGHT
HAVE FOR "PRESENCE" IN THE INDIAN OCEAN BUT IMPLIED
THAT HE DID NOT CONSIDER SUCH NEEDS ON THE SAME
ORDER AS THOSE OF THE USSR.
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